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TO
HER MAJESTY, THE
QUEEN.

Kensington, 24. July, 1821.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

Wholly to pass over in silence the events of the last ten days, in as far as they relate to your Majesty, would, in me, seem strange; and yet, it is not without some reluctance, that I speak of them even now. It is probable, that your Majesty will never see what I am now about to put on paper; but, having felt so deep an interest in your cause, and having laboured in it with so much diligence and earnestness, I may be excused for stating my opinions as to the manner in which that cause has recently been managed; and for endeavouring to show, that, if your Majesty has now failed,

the failure is to be ascribed to your *advisers*, and not to your cause itself or to the people or to those who, before, called on the people to rally round you.

It was perfectly right and proper that his Majesty should be crowned, and crowned too with a degree of splendour becoming the king of a great and powerful nation. As to the *expence*, if the nation be too poor to afford to pay for the crowning of its sovereign, it is too poor to have a king. Money expended in this way is not like money given, in various shapes, for purposes of bribery or tyranny. While nearly a hundred thousand a year was expended in *secret services*, fifty thousand on *French emigrants*, a hundred thousand on the *prior* clergy of our *rich* church, two hundred thousand on *volunteer* yeomanry; while this was the case, it would

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have been scandalous indeed, if two hundred thousand *once in sixty years*, could not be afforded to crown the king! I, therefore, laying aside the formidable *military* array of the day, applaud the king for *insisting* (as it is said he did) on being crowned. To *have* a crown, and not dare to put it on his head, would have made his Majesty's state like that of but too many of his subjects, who *have* a great many *rights*, very valuable rights, only the *enjoyment* of them is not permitted!

But while I wished to see the king crowned, I wished also to see your Majesty participate in the ceremony, as other Queens had; and, my opinion is, that if the proper measures had been adopted, this would have taken place; or, the king would not himself have been crowned. So far, however, from such measures having been adopted, it appears to me, that the measures taken by your legal advisers have had in view the object of defeating

your and the public wishes; or, if this was not their object, ignorance not to be described has occupied their minds.

In order to make good this charge, which I fearlessly make in the face of the country, I must go back to the date of your Majesty's memorable triumph. That triumph was nearly complete; and it required only honesty and common sense in your advisers to keep you on the ground where you then stood, instead of which there has been an ominous *recoiling*. Your enemies have, from the day of the triumph to the present hour, been gaining upon you and driving you from your ground. It was for your Majesty to *go on*; to get *forward*; to keep *steadily gaining*, until in possession of every particle of your rights. To do this, it did, indeed, require means of a kind which your Majesty had not theretofore had at your command; but, to maintain the ground *on which you were placed*, required in your advisers nothing

more than common honesty and common sense.

No sooner was the triumph obtained, than the advantages which it presented were bartered for the delusive friendship of faction. The king, in opening the parliament gave you the name of Queen, and pointed out to the House of Commons the propriety of making your Majesty a suitable provision. The step for your Majesty to take, at that time, was this: to thank the House of Commons (as representatives of the *people*) for their great liberality; to express your sorrow that your own recent expences rendered a large present expenditure unavoidable, at a time when the nation was in such deep pecuniary distress; to declare your resolution to abridge that expenditure as much and as soon as possible; to intimate your intention to remit part of the large allowance when the state of your affairs would permit it; to express your wish to give no disturbance or annoyance to His Ma-

jesty or his servants; but, at the same time, to avow the utter impossibility of your giving up things far more precious than money, your undoubted rights as a *wife* and a *Queen*. Thus all would have been at once popular and dignified, rational and just.

In the course of the session, and in only three months after this, the opportunity occurred of acting, with great propriety and effect, upon this declaration. The pecuniary affairs of the nation were exposed; its distresses were, at last, openly avowed; the Ministers were compelled to yield a tax though the revenue was already deficient; and, the session terminated with an address to the king to cause a reduction of expences generally, and particularly of *salaries*. This was the time for your Majesty to relinquish a part of your ample allowance! And, barren indeed must be the head of a lawyer, which, on such an occasion, could not have suggested something

that should have made your footing firm as a rock.

Now, instead of all this, what did we see? A refusal to receive the grant, and that, too, by a message, which was conveyed in terms so perfectly uncouth as well as absurd, that, from mere feeling for your Majesty, no man of sound understanding and of decent taste, could read it without shame. This was a proceeding so very ungracious, so manifestly of a factious nature, so clearly designed to annoy the king and his ministers, and to compel him to put some men out of power and to put others in, that it took from your Majesty thousands and thousands of those cordial, jealous and active friends, who were ready to lay down their lives in defence of an injured Queen, but who would move neither pen nor tongue in support of the head of a selfish faction.

To some it was well known that this step proceeded, not from your Majesty's own mind, but from that of your advisers; but,

this could not be *generally* known.

The act was taken for your own; and, therefore, when, in a short time afterwards you accepted of the grant, and that, too, without any change whatever in the terms or circumstances; and when all the reasons for refusal existed just as they had existed, and, in your name, had been stated before; when the grant was thus received, and still without reservation as to those claims of right which were afterwards to be made, and without a word to the people for their liberality, what were the people to think? What reliance could they place on councils so fickle and incomprehensible? In short, if any number of the most cunning men that ever lived had sitten in council for a year to lay the foundation of your Majesty's present failure, they could have invented nothing more certain of success than the measures of your Majesty's advisers of February last, after which there never appeared to me any hope,

that, under the same advisers, your Majesty would ever be permitted to enjoy any one of those rights for which you had still to contend.

Later measures have been of precisely the same character. One day your Majesty has been advised to call the Coronation "a vain pageant;" the next to demand a "*participation in the honour of it*;" and, when refused, to make a "*deliberate and solemn protest*" against the exclusion as a thing affecting, not only the rights of future Queens, but also the *liberties and security of the people!* In short, to day we hear your Majesty *appealing* to the Privy Council; to-morrow we hear your Law-Advisers declaring to that Council, that *whatever may be its decision*, your Majesty will *submit to with resignation*; the next day we see your *protest against that decision*; and the next we see your Majesty present yourself for admittance to the Coronation and repulsed from the door!

The *last* act was, however, necessary to afford your Majesty a chance, even a chance, of *future success*; and, it is with great pleasure I perceive, that your *Lawyers* have not only disavowed all approbation of *this* act, but have caused it to be stated in print, that they *gave their advice against it*. Yet, if your Majesty had not gone to the Hall or the Church; if you had *not* made this effort, though it proved fruitless, not a friend worth having would you have had left in this whole nation. From this act we conclude, and fairly conclude, that you have been led along from error to error, unconscious of the tendency of your steps. We *pity*; but, pity is by no means a powerful principle of action; and, indeed, we can scarcely help mixing even our pity with some degree of surprise, that the *very man*, who made a voluntary offer to surrender up your very title of *Queen*, should have been, even after the visit to *St. Omers*, after the *Pro-*

tocols, and after the *message from the House*, chosen to be the advocate for maintaining your Majesty's *right to be crowned!* For your Majesty's situation we make great allowances; we know how difficult it is for you to guard against bad advisers; we are aware, that in some degree, and even in a great degree, you must see with the eyes and hear with the ears of others; we know what it is to be exposed to the effects of everlasting whisperings; we know, that it is possible, so completely to bar up all access to you as effectually to keep at a distance every thing tending to give you a glimpse of the truth: but, even with all this, we cannot account for your ear still being open to the man, who, in 1819, made a voluntary offer to surrender, by anticipation, *your title as Queen*. This was flagrant and of too much importance not to reach your Majesty long ago. We may shut out smaller sounds; but the thunder will reach our ears.

It has, probably, surprized your Majesty, that the *press*, which did so much in your cause during the former contest, should now have done so little. This surprise must, however, cease when your Majesty has duly reflected on the foregoing part of this letter. But, there was this great difference in the two cases: it was, *before*, an injured and oppressed wife and Queen to defend and to rescue; it was *now* to *acquire* something for her which that Queen herself had called a "*vain pageant*:" it was, *before*, to support a Queen who *appealed to the people*; it was now to obtrude our assistance on a Queen who had *appealed to the Privy Council*; who had placed her reliance on him especially who had made, in 1819, an offer to surrender her title as Queen!

Besides this, however, there was the further and more important difference, that, in 1820, we *understood clearly what was to be done* to serve your Majesty; and, in 1821, we were wholly in

the dark, and could learn your *wishes* and *designs* only from the acts which caused their failure. In 1820, all was open and public. The King's Message, the Green Bags, the Bill of Pains and Penalties, your Majesty's own heroic conduct; all these were matter to be worked on by the press, which was then able to penetrate into the views of your advisers, *to defend you against your defendes*, to rescue you in spite of your own advocates.

Very different has been the case *now*. These defenders and advocates seem to have been well aware of the dangers of previous publicity. The lesson of 1821 appears not to have been lost upon them. Their measures were taken with so much secrecy, that, until it was seen that they must fail, none of us could possibly know what they were, or what they were to be. It was impossible to venture pen to paper on the subject without the chance of being *laughed at*; and no man, be he who he may, likes to be

laughed at. Besides, at every step, to have supported your Majesty, we must have undone all that your advisers had done; and they took care to leave us no time for that. To support you in defiance of them would have been easy enough; but, in conjunction with them, utterly impossible.—Atlas supported the earth on his shoulders; but, if he had had Brougham and Denman to *help* him, down it must have come.

One advantage, however, arises out of this failure: your Majesty has now an experimental proof of the effect of being under the exclusive guidance of your Legal and "*Constitutional Advisers*," who have, doubtless, *this time*, taken effectual measures to prevent all "*indiscreet access*." They have, I dare say, in their view of the matter, managed it with *great discretion*; and, whatever may be the feelings of your Majesty, they, doubtless, find reason to congratulate themselves on their atchievement.

The *people* are puzzled: they

know not what to think; and how, then, should they have known how to act? What demonstration of support was to be, or is to be, expected from them? They did themselves everlasting honour by the manner in which they upheld your Majesty's cause. *They* have not changed; but, to uphold a cause, they must know *what that cause is*; and this knowledge has, in the case of the Coronation, been wholly withheld from them. For my own part (and I am sure I speak the sentiments of millions), I feel great gratitude to your Majesty *merely for your coming to England*, which was productive of more good to the country than pen or tongue can describe. At that very moment terror was at its height. A large part of the community were living in continual fear. The scaffold had just streamed with the blood of five men at once, executed under the protection of no inconsiderable army. The fitness of employing spies had been openly avowed and de-

fended. The *Debt* was, indeed, working on in our favour, and would, in the end, have affected our relief; but, its operation was slow. *Your Majesty came, and the gloom was instantly dissipated!* The feelings were awakened; men thought who never thought before; it was a stirring of the whole nation; and that was not to be resisted. Inquiry upon inquiry, led to discovery after discovery; and, from that moment a blow was given that will never be recovered.

The *Debt* is now getting on with mighty strides to bring us better days. The affairs of the nation are righting themselves apace. But, still, we ought never to forget the obligations which we owe to your Majesty. If pernicious advice has excluded you from the Coronation, you have done the people no wrong, and have forfeited no part of your claim to that affection with which they will adhere to your Majesty to the last hour of your life; and,

I trust, that, in the whole nation, there is not to be found a man more sincerely and zealously devoted to your Majesty, than

Your Majesty's

most obedient

and most humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

LETTER III.

TO THE

MONEY-HOARDERS.

Kensington, 24. July, 1821.

FAITH, my Friends, you must *look about you!* My *little bird* comes chirping to me with more eagerness than ever. He makes as much fluttering and clamour as the old Lark did to her young ones, when she overheard the farmer saying, that he was resolved to clap the sickle into the wheat with his *own hand*; and I cannot refrain from communicating his intelligence to you.

If we were *sure*, that the Bank would not *stop again*, we need be in no anxiety. But, of this we

are not sure by any means. Always bear in mind, that the Old Lady *can* stop, whenever she will, to pay in coin. She is compellable to pay in *gold bars*; but, that is inconvenient to the public in general. It is the coin that works her; and, I shall now give my reasons for *fearing* that she may *again stop*. You will say, that she is *ruined for ever*, if she do stop again. In *reputation* you mean, I suppose? Never depend on her feelings on that account.

She has stopped *once*; nay, twice; and, really, it is too much to talk of female virtue and shame after the damsel has, as the Yankees delicately call it, had *two broken legs*. I am aware, that, the *third* time, the affair would be more serious; but, *needs must*; and, as to *consequences*, what of them to her? They cannot be *worse* now than at any other time. Besides, after all, if she cannot go, she *cannot*; and that is saying the whole in six words.

I am of opinion, that this *needs must* will come, and *very soon too*;

so I pray you *look out!* In my last I stated something of what was going on at the *Mint*; but, it appears to me, that we should now have an eye to the *Stock Exchange* and the *Jews*; for, these latter are, just at this time, a body with sufficient power, I believe, to *stop the Old Lady's issues in one single day!* Viewed as a thing by which we are to judge of the state of the national means, I always despise the prices of "*stock*," as it is called; but, this stock may be worked with for certain very terrible purposes; and, at this very time, perhaps, for that of putting a stop to cash-payments.

There is a *Band of Jews*, real Israelites, who have not less, at this moment, than 8 millions of stock in what are called the 3 per Cent. funds. Now, observe, since the first of May, the Old Lady is, by very good judges, supposed to have paid out not less than 6 millions of pounds in gold; and, according to the best accounts that I can come at, she

began with not more than 8 millions, and has added two millions to her stock since the first May. Thus, then, her Ladyship may have about 4 millions in hand; and, at about 50 miles from London not a Sovereign is yet seen in circulation. So that here are 6-tenths of the whole supply gone without giving the country-cousins even a taste.

Let us now look a little at the perilous situation of the Old Lady. The *Jews* (who are a *band*, mind) have recently been selling out stock, in consequence of which sales the funds have fallen. These sales are made to be *completed on a future day*; and, when the day comes, if the Jews actually deliver the stock, and *take bank notes for it*, and then go and demand sovereigns of the Old Lady, how foolish would she look, and how much more foolish you! This is all not only possible, but probable; and, therefore, *look sharp!*

The small stock-holders should, when they sell out, go and get

gold *without loss of time*, and not hold her Ladyship's notes for a single hour. Many hold the notes, thinking that they shall know before hand when the old Lady is about to draw tight her purse-strings. But, let them bear in mind, that the *Law* does not require her to give *any notice*; and, you may be assured, that, if she stop again, the stoppage will, as in 1797, take place *before the public will hear of the intention to stop*. The Jew-Band have, perhaps, at this time, the power to *clear out* the Sovereigns *whenever they think fit*: nay, even in a *few hours*! Is it not right, then, for the small stock-holders to be on their guard? *Another stoppage*, wherever it might end, would certainly begin by creating a *panic*. This would bring down the price of stock 10, and, perhaps, 20, per cent. This is the very thing, that the Jews would desire; for it would be singularly favourable to their speculations.

The manner in which the Jews

work is this: they have about 3 millions of their own, and the rest they borrow of *the Bankers*. The public have been, constantly, for some time, selling stock upon *balance*, which stock the Jews have purchased, partly with their own capital and partly with money borrowed from the Bankers. The public sell, and *foolishly pay the proceeds into their Bankers*, who become, by these means, possessed of *large balances*. The Jew-Band borrow this money, purchase stock with it, putting the stock into the Bankers' hands as security for the money borrowed! Thus the stock-holders really give a helping hand to the Jews in defrauding themselves.

These curious operations have been going on for the last four months; but, as the *exchanges are now coming down*, and, as many stock-holders, instead of purchasing more stock with their *Midsummer Dividends*, are *selling their principal*, the Jew-Band begin to be alarmed; and will probably soon think, that the

hour is come for making a *grand push* at the Old Lady ! In short, there is no knowing what turn the thing may take. It is rather more than probable that the blow may come from this band ; and, from all I hear (and I *hear a good deal*), I should not be at all surprised if that blow, a *decisive blow*, were given in *six weeks from this day*.

Does it not, then, become every man, whose means of living and of providing for his family are deposited in this way, to think and act without delay ? For my part I see no excuse for the man who obstinately perseveres in relying upon such a thing. A poor-house is too good for him. He ought to pass the rest of his days in three quarters starvation, loaded with the curses of his family. And, you call such a man a *public creditor* do you ? Why, there is *his money* ! The Old Lady offers it him in exchange for his part of what he calls the *public debt* ; and *he will not take the money* ! Oh, no ! He will be a “ *public cre-*

ditor ! ” That is his delight. He will not take his money and make use of it in another way ; he will be a “ *public creditor* ; ” that is to say, he will have more than he ought to have for the use of his money ! And, we are to be told after this, that it is to *rob* him if we reduce his exorbitant interest !

However, to know what sort of chance the Fund-lords have, we have little more to do than to look at the prices of the produce of the land. The wheat is greatly dependent on the season for its price ; but, in spite of the long-continued cold weather, eight or nine *frosts* in the month of June, and other unfavourable appearances, the wheat remains stationary at the price it was at before the cold weather began. If things had been in a settled state ; if there had been no *alteration* going on in the *currency*, the cold weather would have raised the price of wheat two or three shillings in the bushel. The effect which cash-payments have now had is to keep the price the same with

the prospect of a short crop; and, this, mind, is a great deal worse for the farmer than a further fall in price and a large crop.

But, there are other things besides *wheat* that the land produces and that are to pay the farmer's rent and taxes. The *beef* and *mutton* together come to an amount not much short, perhaps, of that of the *wheat*. These have not been affected by the cold weather; and their price has gone on regularly diminishing from the moment that Peel's Bill was passed to the present hour. It seems to be a fine *grass* and *turnip* year; and, if the gold continue to come on, we may see beef at 4d. a pound, and mutton at 3d. by Christmas. At this time, however, the best, the fattest and finest wether sheep are sold at Smithfield for 33 pence a stone of 8 pounds; that is to say, one penny in a stone more than *four pence* a pound! I state this from a *certain knowledge of the fact*. And at this very time the *newspapers* are telling us that mut-

ton is sold in this same market from *three shillings* to three and eight pence a stone; that is to say, 46 pence a stone for the best, when I positively assert that the very best mutton was sold in that market on the last market day for 33 pence a stone. Veal does not bring 34 pence a stone upon an average, though the newspapers tell us that it brings from 36 pence to 42 pence. Barley brings upon an average 23 shillings a quarter, and oats 18. Hops bring upon an average 50 shillings for a hundred and twelve pounds; or, at any rate, not more than sixpence a pound. A large cauliflower sells for twopence, and a large paved cabbage for about three farthings. This is all in *London*, you will perceive. Bad, therefore, as 1820 was for the farmer and the Landlord, worse a great deal for *them* must be 1821.

There is another article of importance rather less indeed than wheat, but yielding to nothing but wheat; of course, I mean *ba-*

con. This forms a considerable part of the food of man; and here I am about to give a list of the prices of this article, together with those of *lard per hundred weight*, in the London wholesale market through the months of this year up to the present month of July.

BACON.

Shillings for 112lb.

January	-	-	-	48
February	-	-	-	52
March	-	-	-	49
April	-	-	-	46
May	-	-	-	42
June	-	-	-	38
July	-	-	-	32

LARD.

Shillings for 112lb.

January	-	-	-	65
February	-	-	-	60
March	-	-	-	58
April	-	-	-	56
May	-	-	-	50
June	-	-	-	48
July	-	-	-	44

I pledge myself for the perfect correctness of this statement. The Bacon, at 32 shillings a hundred is not *threepence halfpenny a pound*; and the lard, at 44 shil-

lings is not *five pence a pound*.

Let it be observed, too, that these are the prices of the *best* articles of the kind in the market! The fall in the inferior kinds is much greater; for instance, bacon of the second quality can be had for about five and twenty shillings; that is to say, at rather less than *twopence three farthings a pound*; and this is quite as good as man, who has a sufficiency of exercise, need to be very anxious to have.

Now, during the times of "*prosperity*;" that is to say, when the Farmer and Landlord were shining; when fine houses and streets were rising up every where; when small farm-houses were tearing down all over the kingdom; when the labourers were starving, and were ferreted out from their cottages like pole-cats or weazles, and hunted from the skirts of forests and commons; in those glorious days of English "*prosperity*," when loan-jobbers were amassing together the sums with which they are now purchasing Noblemeas' estates

and mansions; in those days of "prosperity," the average price of this same bacon was not less than about a hundred shillings instead of 32; and I remember, that, at one time, the price of green hogs, that is to say, the hog just killed, the feet and head being on, un-salted, un-smoked and undried, was *eighteen shillings the score!*

The difference here is so enormous, that it speaks ruin to the Farmer and Landlord in the very sound. Pretty folly is it then to talk of the fall in prices to be no more than four and a half per cent., because that is all the difference that has been produced in the price of gold, when the one has no more to do with the other, no, not a jot more, than Mr. RICARDO's pamphlets have to do with common sense.

But the thing to notice more particularly is, the rapid decline in prices since the gold payments have begun. During the months previous to *May* (the blessed, ever blessed month of May!)

the price of bacon fluctuated a little, you see; but, in April, it was only two shillings the hundred weight lower than it was in January; but, observe, the three months of gold payments brings it down *sixteen shillings*. The lard is nine shillings cheaper the hundred weight in April than it is in January, but the next three months; the three months of gold payments mind, brings it down twelve shillings lower.

You may rely on the accuracy of this statement of prices; and you may also rely, that *butter* and *cheese* have fallen nearly in the same proportion. It is impossible, therefore, for any rational man to believe, that the owners of the land will quietly submit to this open and undisguised transfer of their estates. To give four pounds of bacon, or the interest of four pounds of bacon, for the loan of one pound of bacon, is a thing too monstrous to be thought of. It is to be an idiot to believe, that men, having

the power of resistance will submit to such audacious extortion.

Therefore, common sense tells us, that something must be done in the way of *reducing the interest of the Debt*; and, the moment that is talked of in a manner to give ground for belief that it may *possibly* take place, that moment is the last when you will have an opportunity of making yourselves safe by turning your stock into gold. Do it *now* then! Do it now, while you can; and not live to repine at your folly and to be wretched and unpitied beggars. Do it *now* before the parliament may meet again! And, unless I am very much deceived it will meet at a much earlier period than usual.

If the Jews; I mean the Jew-band before mentioned, proceed to rifling of the chests of the Old Lady, she must stop, as by law she is authorised to do. But, will this mend your situation? I mean the situation of those who are stock-holders, and who obstinately refuse to turn their stock into

gold. If she stop, a panic seizes all that depend upon the paper.

The haste and confusion will be like that produced by the cry of fire in a play-house, or, the cry of "*a wreck!*" in a Cornish church during the time of divine service. "The devil take the hindmost!" will involuntarily burst from every mouth: the yell and the uproar will be prodigious. I should not wonder to see, by the second day at noon, a hundred of stock as they call it, sold for ten pounds.

In this hour of confusion, uproar and dismay, how snug will he feel who has his stock turned into Sovereigns, those Sovereigns tied up in a bag, that bag locked up in a box, and that box secure in his own house! He will feel as a man, who has just passed through a perilous sea voyage, and who, while in his comfortable bed on land, hears unconcernedly whistle through the trees that same wind which frightened him half to death when he heard it whistling through

the shrouds. And, is it not a duty in every man to take this precaution; to secure a *part* at least; and especially if he have a family dependent upon him? I have so frequently urged the advantages of removing property into places of safety: of exchanging paper for gold and stock for land, that I may well despair of convincing any reader who is not already convinced; but, for the benefit of those, who entertain the silly notion, that they *lose* by keeping money by them, I will just mention one fact, relating to the sale of land, which has accidentally come within my own knowledge.

A Farm, an old and long lease of which at two hundred and sixty pounds a year, has just expired, has recently been sold by auction, and brought sixteen hundred pounds. The nature of the tenure was such as to make it worth what is called about *eighteen years purchase*: so that, according to the old lease, it was worth *four thousand five hun-*

dred pounds; and it has now sold for sixteen hundred. If this farm had been freehold tenure it would have sold for two thousand, six hundred and sixty-six pounds; and observe that there is a large and spacious farm-house and buildings of every description, a considerable quantity of oak timber, some fine under-woods, the arable land by no means of the worst quality, the whole making *two hundred and sixty acres*, of which *thirty acres are watered meadow!*

Now, could a man *lose* his money, if he were to deposit it in this way, instead of having it locked up in the arms of "*national faith?*"

If there be a man on earth so stupid, so besotted, so listless, so lazy as to leave his fortune in jeopardy, rather than move hand or foot, thus to place it in a state of security, that man, when his hour of suffering shall come, will be wholly unworthy of compassion; for such a man actual starvation is a punishment by no means too severe.

However, I advise every one to *hoard*; for, though a hundred Sovereigns will buy a good deal of land now, they will buy a great deal more in less than two year's time. Sovereigns do not eat or drink. They diminish not in weight, nor in fineness, and you may be well assured that they are worth their nominal value, or else the Jews would buy them up with the paper and exchange them for the bars at the Bank, which, by law, are of the standard gold quality. As you put them into your chest, so they will come out of your chest; and by the time that the *bank* shall be compelled to pay in gold, every seven Sovereigns will buy an acre of arable farming land of the average quality. And every two hundred Sovereigns will purchase a nice little snug farm with house, barn, stable and other out-buildings.

Is there not, then, more than a sufficient inducement to put by money, and to take care that it be real money that you put by? But, now is the time! The time

may soon be passed. I should not wonder, as I said before, if the Old lady, in the exercise of her "*sound*" discretion, were to *sound* in our ears in less than six weeks, the horrid word stoppage. Then farewell gold, for the present, at least. But, besides this, the paper, all those nasty things, those filthy rags, called country notes, circulate about, perform the office of money, and make the guinea less valuable; *make it purchase less* than it otherwise would do. Therefore it is a shame and a sin to pass away a Sovereign if you can by any means keep it; for if you keep it till the paper is all, or nearly all, gone, it will purchase twice as much of land or of any thing else as it will purchase now.

In conclusion, let me caution you against believing what you read as to this subject in the London newspapers. Those vehicles of falsehood and fraud, belong, for the far greater part to men who are stock jobbers, or who are closely connected with jobbing

and other transactions of a similar kind in Lotteries, Insurance Offices, India Funds, Bank Stock, or something or other of that description. They have all an interest some way or other in keeping up what they themselves laughingly call the glorious humbug. Like showmen, they pocket the profits and laugh at the dupes who suffer themselves to be robbed by their tricks.

If you have the patience to read through one of their monstrous sheets from the beginning to the end, you will find that they almost wholly exist upon the humbug. Lotteries, schemes, money lending, brokering, quackery, puffing, plans for money getting, prices of stocks, paragraphs to mislead the public and to plunder them by rise or fall of the funds, lies from abroad, lies at home, hints about changes of ministry, stories to create alarm, others to blind us to our danger, in short, you will find almost the whole of the monstrous sheet, filled with matter derived from or tending

towards, in support of or supported by, the infernal system of paper money, with which these disgraceful publications have grown up, and with which they will sink down to nothing.

Their owners are perfectly conscious of this. Take that babel of iniquity, that matchless scene of disgrace, called 'Change Alley; take this from them, and they fall. It is, therefore, their business; it is a part of their profession; and it is the main part, too, to uphold the paper system; and, from the basest and most corrupt motives, they have become a principal cause of all the distresses, of which the nation now has to complain. Had they taken a different part; had they done their duty; had they warned the nation betimes, should we ever have arrived at a state, when abundant crops would have been a subject of regret; when Englishmen would have been transported to Africa for want of the means of living at home, while at the very same time, the Landlords

and Farmers complained that food was *too cheap*? No: we never could have seen these things, if these men had done their duty. Instead of doing their duty, instead of warning people of their danger, they have been the instruments in deluding them; and even to this moment, they labour as zealously as ever to keep up the delusion; and that, too, from the base motives above mentioned.

Believe, therefore, nothing that they say. They know well that men of experience detect their falsehoods and penetrate their motives; but they are dead to all sense of shame. The only question with them is, does the thing *yield profit*? and if that question be answered in the affirmative, down goes the lie, even if they are sure that it will draw upon them the censure of every honest and sensible man in the community.

MR. CROPPER

And the Slave-Trade.

I am compelled, for want of room, to postpone this subject for another week or two. In the meanwhile G. W. R. should send me *the Look* that he mentions, relative to the *East Indies*. I have it not, and do not know where to get it

LIBEL-TRIALS.

I insert the whole report of the proceedings of the Court of King's Bench, in *London*, on the 24th instant, on the trial of Miss MARY ANN CARLILE, as being important in several points of view; but, especially as exhibiting to us a *Lawyer of Resolution*, in the person of Mr. COOPER, who has done himself great honour upon this occasion; and, I trust, that he will not want imitators. We have seen lawyers, in former times, amongst the foremost in the cause of freedom; and, the times are coming, I think, when

we shall see the same again. The *cause*, which has muzzled the bar, is removing out of the way. Let us see the gallon loaf at 8d. and we shall see all things as they ought to be.—As to the *prosecuting societies*, they are *all alike*; all *unlawful*, all *odious*; all *disgraceful to the country*. Many years ago, when invited to become a member of a Society for prosecuting *felons*, I refused, and gave my reasons publicly. It is *government within government*. It is what the law never intended or took into view: it, in effect, *hardens* the laws; and is, therefore, a violation of them. From the “*Loyal Association in the Strand*” to the “*Constitutional Society in Bridge-Street*,” including the *Society of Vice*, the *Queen’s-Plate Committee prosecuting Society*, the *Stock-Jobbing Prosecuting Society*, the *Societies for prosecuting felons*, I deem all unlawful and odious; and the more they are covered by *cant*, the worse they are. It is the business of the *government*, in its va-

rious branches, to protect persons and property, and to punish offences against the laws. If this business be taken up by *combinations of parts of the community*, other parts will naturally *combine against them*; and, in the strife that will succeed, all law and justice must be lost sight of. To *discriminate* between these combinations is to give countenance to *some* of them; and I never will give countenance to any.

CONSTITUTIONAL ASSOCIATION.

THE KING V. MARY ANNE CARLILE.

This was an indictment against the defendant, at the instance of the Constitutional Association, for publishing a seditious libel in a pamphlet entitled, *An Address to the Reformers*, printed with her name to it. The first count set out the following alleged libellous matter:—“To talk about the British Constitution is, in my opinion, a sure proof of dishonesty. Britain has no Constitution. If we speak of the Spanish Constitution, we have something tangible; there is a substance and meaning as well as a sound. In Britain there is nothing constituted but corruption in the system of Government. Our

very laws are corrupt and partial, both in themselves and in their administration. In fact, corruption, 'as notorious as the sun at noon-day,' is an avowed part of the system, and is denominated the necessary oil for the wheels of the Government. It is a most pernicious oil to the interests of the people." The second count set out the following matter:—"Reform will be obtained when the existing authorities have no longer the power to withhold it, and not before. We shall gain it as early without petitioning as with it, and I would again put forward my opinion that something more than a petitioning attitude is necessary. At this moment I would not say a word about insurrection, but I would strongly recommend union, activity, and co-operation. Be ready and steady to meet any concurrent circumstance." There were six of the Jury talesmen.

Mr. GURNEY (with Mr. TINDAL) stated the case for the prosecution with his usual ability, urging the so often repeated topics in cases of this description. The following witnesses were then examined for the prosecution:—

James Rignall deposed, that he had purchased the pamphlet in question of the defendant, at her shop in Fleet-street, on Friday evening, the 9th of March. There were several other copies lying about on the counter.

Cross-examined by Mr. COOPER—I am, and have been for the last eighteen months, an agent for the Society for the Suppression of Vice; and I am also agent in this instance for the Constitutional Association. I did not purchase any other copies of the pamphlet. I was employed by the Solicitor for the prosecution, Mr. Murray. He told me to go. He did not particularise what pamphlet I was to purchase. He did not tell me to go and purchase several other copies of this pamphlet. He did not tell me what was his object. It was not mentioned. I have no wages. I don't say that I acted gratuitously. I made a charge for my time. I do not belong to the Society [with vehemence.]

Mr. COOPER—I don't wonder at your being anxious to separate yourself from the Society [a laugh amongst the auditory].

Mr. GURNEY—I desire that no such remarks may be made.

By Mr. COOPER—What have you had for this particular job?—I have made a charge for several other little things I did [a laugh].

Mr. GURNEY (to the spectators)—I shall certainly move his Lordship to take notice of some particular persons that I see misconducting themselves.

Cross-examination resumed.—What other jobs did you do for the Associa-

tion?—I did several jobs; that I will not deny.

How much have you had for these little jobs?—I declare, upon my oath, I cannot state particularly how much I have had for these little jobs. I made a charge. I don't recollect exactly what my charge was. I can tell you pretty nearly the round sum, if that will satisfy you. I think it was about 7l. and under seven guineas. I was sent on other business besides this.

I wish to know what that other business was?—Is it necessary to answer that question?

I think it necessary.—Then I will take the sense of the Court upon it. I have no objection to answer that or any other question, if my Lord thinks I ought.

Mr. Justice BEST—You had better answer it.

Then I purchased some other different things for the Association, but it was not in consequence of any general or particular orders I received; I went to purchase those publications which I thought libels; I cannot state exactly now what they were.

Then you did that, I suppose, without any hope of reward?—I don't state without any hope of reward; I expected to be paid for my time.

Then it was not merely from motives of patriotism and public virtue?—Those were two of my motives most certainly, but not the only ones.

Has this been the usual way of getting your living?—It has for a year and a half past; I have had no other feasible occupation during that time.

I suppose you received a considerable sum in the course of this honourable employment?—I have told you the sum total was about 7l.

Mr. Justice BEST—Do you think that material, Mr. Cooper?

Mr. COOPER—I do think it material, to show the sort of Agents that this Honourable Society employs.

In what honourable employment were you before this?—I had a situation in his Majesty's Customs service; I have left my situation.

Have you received a pension from the Customs?—I have not.

What is your age?—I am 54.

Re-examined.—I have been in the employment of the Society for the Suppression of Vice for a year and a half; I have been paid by them for my services. In this instance, and in some others, I have made some purchases for the Constitutional Association.

Horatio Orton examined by Mr. GURNEY.—I was a witness before the Grand Jury. On the 10th March I

purchased another copy of the pamphlet in question from Mary Ann Carlile; I had it from her own hand.

Cross-examined by Mr. COOPER—How came you to purchase this on the 10th of March?—I was directed by Mr. Murray, the solicitor, to purchase it.

This is the gentleman (pointing to Mr. Murray in Court)?—Yes.

He is the Honorary Secretary to the Association, and the disinterested attorney for this prosecution!—Yes.

I was sent by him for the express purpose of purchasing this pamphlet; I should not have gone if I had not been directed by him.

What is your situation in the Society?—My situation to the Association is as clerk.

Clerk to Mr. Murray?—No; I am not in Mr. Murray's office.

In the Society's office separate from the attorney's office?—Yes.

In what situation were you before?—I used to assist my brother in his correspondence with country newspapers.

Not for the town papers?—No, for himself; he takes the reports of the House of Lord's proceedings, and transmits them to the editors of the country papers; I used to assist him

in the copying, and he paid me for my trouble.

Is your salary in your present honourable situation fixed?—No, it is not fixed.

It depends upon your exertions?—Yes.

You don't work by the piece?—No. I do not; the Committee have not yet come to a determination about my salary; I have not made any demand for salary; I have not proposed any sum; I mean to swear that; not any sum has been proposed to me; I don't say that I would work for the Society gratuitously; if I want 5l. I know where to go for it; not of the Association; I can have it of my brother; I expect to receive something from the Association.

In your modesty, what may be the extent of your expectations?

Mr. GURNEY submitted that this was not a proper mode of cross-examination.

Mr. COOPER—I think it is, and I shall persist in it until I am told by my Lord that it is irregular.

Mr. Justice BEST—I don't think any part of the cross-examination is approaching to any thing like regularity.

Mr. COOPER—If your Lordship says I am not to be allowed the same

latitude which is allowed to counsel on other occasions, I shall not persevere.

Mr. Justice BEST—I have no objection to your taking your own course, but I think this course of examination ought to have been stopped long ago. I think every fair and reasonable indulgence ought to be allowed to counsel in such a case, but if this was a mere civil case, I should have stopped you long ago.

Mr. COOPER—Then I shall proceed in my own way, with your Lordship's permission.

Is this the first job you have been employed in?—I don't recollect any other of this kind.

Are you sure you have been employed upon no other job of this kind?—I cannot bring to my recollection whether I have been employed on any other. I may have been, but I am not aware of any.

Do you know a man named King?—Yes, perfectly.

Do you recollect doing a job in which he was concerned?—I don't recollect doing a job of this kind against King. I might, if I saw the paper before me with my mark upon it. There are so many of them, that I cannot recollect any in particular.

Have you not made an affidavit in

the job against King?—Yes; but that is since this. I cannot recollect whether I have done any other jobs. I have been in the employment of the Association about six months.—I commenced on the 5th of January. Since the 10th of March, I don't recollect how many jobs I have been engaged in; they are so numerous I can't recollect. The orders which Mr. Murray gave me were, to go and purchase the Reformer's Address at the defendant's shop. I had not any general directions to buy at this or that shop—not from Mr. Murray. I had, from other persons, general directions to make purchases of works; one of those persons was Mr. Sharpe.

He is the Honorary Assistant Secretary?—Yes.

[All the preceding questions excited considerable sensation amongst the audience, and produced a chorus of humorous tittering].

Mr. Justice BEST—The effect of these questions, Mr. Cooper, you must feel. You cannot wish, I am sure, to excite the sort of responses which come from below the bar. You must see that it is done on purpose. You cannot wish, I am sure, to produce that effect.

Mr. COOPER—My Lord, I am the last man in the world to do any thing

inconsistent with the gravity and decorum of a Court of Justice. I disclaim any such intention; and I must disdain the insinuation of Mr. Gurney, that I have taken up this case for the purpose of adding to the public odium in which the Honourable Association is held.

Mr. GURNEY said, his Learned Friend Mr. Cooper was mistaken; he had never insinuated any thing of the kind.

Mr. Justice BEST—I am sure no Gentleman at the Bar would wish to produce the effect which all the questions put by you have had below the Bar.

Mr. COOPER said he could not controul the feelings of the auditory. He was only anxious to do his duty to the best of his humble ability, and nothing should deter him from discharging that duty freely and undauntedly.

Re-examination resumed.—What is the office of the Honorary Assistant Secretary?—It is to do every thing at the office.

To superintend the business of the office?—I consider him as the acting manager.

Then the Honorary Secretary has a sinecure?—What does the word honorary mean but a sinecure?

The alleged libel was then put in and read, and the case for the prosecution closed.

Mr. HENRY COOPER then proceeded to address the Jury on behalf of the defendant, in an able, eloquent, and powerful speech, in which he evinced great acuteness, much force of argument, and a commanding strain of oratory which produced a visible effect on the Jury. We lament, however, that our limits will not allow us to enter into any thing like detail. He was upwards of two hours speaking. The Learned Counsel expressed his regret that the conduct of the defence had not devolved upon some more able advocate, considering the momentous question which the Jury were called upon to decide. For his own part he had the more reason to pray their indulgence, in consequence of the very limited time allowed him to address his mind to the subject. It was true he was told three weeks since he should probably have the conduct of this defence, but it was not until late last night that his brief was delivered; and therefore he had been obliged to rob nature of her due, in order to prepare himself in some degree for the arduous task he had undertaken. Imperfectly prepared, therefore, as he must necessarily be, and in no inconsiderable degree depressed

in animal spirits from want of rest, he felt himself unable to do that justice to the case which its vast importance required. He called upon the Jury to endeavour to divest their minds of that prejudice which the very name of Carleile was but too apt to excite, from causes to which it was not necessary for him to allude. Even in his own behalf he felt it necessary to bespeak a candid consideration of the topics he proposed to urge, considering that even the Advocate in such a case had to combat prejudices of no pleasant description. For himself personally, however, he was perfectly indifferent as to the consequences; and though so insignificant an individual might be thought worthy the animadversions, and even the scorn of certain persons, he should derive the greatest satisfaction if his efforts were successful in rescuing the unhappy defendant from the peril with which she was threatened, and look upon the malice of his enemies as the most honourable testimonial of his exertions. The Jury were the Judges of the law as well as the fact in cases of this description. They were not to suffer their judgments to be warped by any by-gone precedents, or the decision of former Juries on similar occasions, for if there had been 10,000 convictions for

political libels of this tendency, they ought to have no effect upon their decision in this instance. Good sense progressively made its way in surmounting the prejudices of mankind. There was a time when the vendors of hops were liable to, and had been subjected to criminal punishment, for selling that wholesome herb, as a poison; but would any man in these times commend the prejudices of our forefathers, which could so far work injustice, so detrimental to their own interests? The same observation and the same principle were applicable to the subject of libel. Adverting then more immediately to the question before the Jury, he contended that the defendant was entitled to a verdict of acquittal, considering who were the authors of the prosecution—an unauthorised, an irresponsible combination of individuals, whose conduct was a reproach to the laws, to the justice, and to the Government of the country; for if this supposed libel were a fit subject for prosecution, what had become of the vigilance of the Officers of the Crown, who were paid for guarding the sanctity of the Constitution? Was not the abstinence of the Attorney and Solicitor General decisive proof that they considered this publication as beneath their notice? But

what would the Jury say in a case, where the unhappy defendant was absolutely seduced to commit the alleged offence by this Association itself, and by its hired myrmidons? Was there a tittle of evidence that this paper would have ever met the light, but for the industry of these jackalls, who had enticed their unhappy victims to the insatiate jaws of these conspirators against the liberties of the country? Would the Jury find a verdict of guilty against a person so betrayed, so tempted, so seduced? Devils, not men, could become the tempters, and then the accusers.—Consulting his own feelings, he should not have said any thing upon the character and conduct of this Association, but thus much had his indignation wrung from his contempt. The Learned Counsel then adverted to the terms of the supposed Libel, and argued that it was capable of an innocent interpretation, more especially when the whole paper was taken together. The spirit and substance were perfectly venial, and would the Jury then convict the defendant merely by the rules of verbal criticism? The free subjects of this country were not to be doomed to rot in dungeons for mere metaphorical language and figurative expressions. But was there not the highest authority

for saying, that the substance of both the obnoxious passages indicted was perfectly true? Was it not a matter of history, delivered by the mouth of the late Speaker of the House of Commons, then the first Commoner in the land, and now a Nobleman of the realm, that there were corrupt practices in the Constitution as notorious as the sun at noon day, and at which our ancestors would have started with horror and indignation?

Mr. Justice BEST—Where do you get that from?

Mr. COOPER—I get it from all the newspapers of the day, and from the Annual Register. It is a part of the history of the country, which will be handed down to posterity.

Mr. Justice BEST—I beg to state, that whatever passes in Parliament cannot be acknowledged any where else. I have no means of knowing, nor have the Jury any means of knowing whether Lord Colchester did say that or not.

Mr. COOPER—But, my Lord, the whole country knows it, and I am quoting it as a part of the history of the country.

Mr. Justice BEST—If he said it any where else he was a libeller on the Constitution of the country. If he said it in Parliament there he was pri-

vileged, and we cannot hear it without being guilty of a breach of privilege.

Mr. COOPER—It is found in the recorded and authentic speeches in Parliament.

Mr. Justice BEST—There is no recorded speech delivered in the House of Commons to which we can listen in this Court.

Mr. COOPER—The speeches in Parliament certainly are not recorded like the judicial proceedings of a Court of Justice, so that we can give them in evidence, but the Journals of the House of Commons are matters of record. If I am at liberty to refer to what happened two or three hundred years ago in Parliament as matter of history, I apprehend I may for the same reason refer to what happened ten years ago.

Mr. Justice BEST—Why, you know perfectly well that a speech delivered in Parliament, if published out of Parliament, may be libellous, and subject to criminal prosecution, as was held in Lord Abingdon's case, and in the *King v. Creevey*.

Mr. COOPER—Those were the cases of libels on a private individual. I am adverting to this as matter of history.

Mr. Justice BEST—Perhaps the best thing is to let you go on your own way if you don't choose to submit.

Mr. COOPER.—My Lord, I am disposed to pay every respect to the decision of the Court, but I trust I am not irregular in alluding to the history of the country.

Mr. Justice BEST.—Why you know that the King's Bench decided this a few Terms since.

Mr. COOPER.—I feel every disposition to bow with respect to your Lordship's decision.

Mr. Justice BEST—I desire you will go on. State any thing you please.

Mr. COOPER then proceeded, and repeated the memorable words of the late Speaker, contending that the imputed libel was only the echo of the sentiment therein contained. He also adverted to the speeches of Lord Chatham, of Lord Chesterfield, and to the sentiments of the immortal Locke, upon the subject of civil government, and the

freedom of the Press. He argued that prosecutions of this kind were highly impolitic and dangerous to society, inasmuch as they gave birth to a spirit of prosecution tending to aggravate the evil they were meant to remedy. They made men stubborn martyrs to the cause of freedom, whose noble enthusiasm, goaded to desperation, excited the sympathy of their fellow-creatures. This was true of religion, "for the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church;" and it was equally true of politics. Neither Athens nor Rome had fallen by a free press, but for the want of one. Destroy the free press of this country, and curb even its licentiousness, and that moment would its liberties be consigned to the tomb. Where was the line to be drawn? The advantage and the evil were so shotten, that in the attempt to separate them the whole fabric became endangered, as in removing a speck from the eye, the vision itself was often destroyed. After a most powerful address, to which we cannot do justice, he concluded by expressing the most confident expectation of a triumphant acquittal.

Miss Carlile fainted from the heat of the Court, and was carried out during the trial.

Mr. Justice BEST, in an animated appeal to the Jury, told them that the Court had nothing to do with the question who were or who were not the prosecutors. The question for them to consider was this—was this a libel, and was the defendant the publisher of it? He had no hesitation in declaring it to be a foul libel; but the Jury were also to form their judgment upon that point, and if they had no conscientious scruples upon the subject, they were bound to administer justice according to their oaths.

The Jury retired a little before four o'clock. At eight o'clock in the evening they came into Court, and said they could not agree. Four of them appeared to be for acquitting. They were then ordered to retire again, upon which the Jury sent messages home to their respective families, that they would not be home probably before morning.

At eleven o'clock on Wednesday

morning a messenger was sent to ascertain whether the Jury had determined upon their verdict, but he returned saying "that there was as little prospect of their agreeing as at the first moment of retiring." Upon a short consultation between the Counsel and Solicitor for the prosecution, the former proposed to discharge the Jury without requiring a verdict; this was acceded to by Mr. Cooper, the Counsel for the defendant, and the Jury was immediately discharged.

COBBETT'S COTTAGE ECONOMY.

The first Number, *price 3d.* is just published. It contains the *Introduction*, and begins the article on *Brewing Beer*. If the inducements there mentioned be sufficient, the following account certainly clenches the nail. None of us like to *die* before our time; and, to be *poisoned* is by no means the *pleasantest death*.

COURT OF EXCISE.

Monday, July 16.

ADULTERATED BEER.—*Jas. Smith*, a publican, was charged with having *feloniously compounded six gallons of liquor with grains of Paradise, quassia, and other pernicious ingredients*, not malt and hops, with intent to defraud the revenue. Samples of the contents of a cask seized on his premises were produced in Court. It was a fluid of a *most powerful nature, highly concentrated, intolerably hot and bitter*. It was of a *yellowish semi-transparent colour*, and when the cork was drawn a *pungent smell exhaled*. A witness was giving his evidence, when Mr. Mayew, the solicitor of the Excise, stepped forward and stated, *that the case was compromised*. Judgment was accordingly awarded against the defendant in the penalty of 100*l.* [The above case excited the *greatest interest*. It is said that *about 90 publicans are implicated in similar practices*. By the application of drugs like those

produced before the Court, and other ingredients of a similar description, it is stated that they are enabled to compound to the extent of converting two butts of porter into three.]

This is horribly wicked work, to be sure; but, then, whose

fault is it, after all? If a man will drink public-house beer at *four times the expence* of home-brewed beer, to be *a little matter poisoned* really seems to be a very proper punishment.

TO

MR. BAINES,

*Proprietor of the Leeds Mercury.**Kensington, 25 July, 1821.*

SIR,

The following letter has been sent to me by the person who furnished you with the extract from Mr. Birkbeck's Letter, noticed in a late Register:—

*Little Preston, Ferry-bridge,
21 July, 1821.*

"SIR,—Your four last numbers have been forwarded to me by Mr. Baines, in which you comment on an Extract from a Letter of Mr. Birkbeck's, and given by me to Mr. Baines for insertion in the Leeds Mercury. The letter in question was written to me as a friend, who occasionally corresponds with Mr. Birkbeck. The satisfaction I derive from that circumstance, will not be diminished by the inquiries

"that may result from the publication of his sentiments, and the tendency of those results to forward the views of my trans-atlantic friend—in which I have no interest separate from my best wishes for his welfare.

"I am, Sir,

"Your's obediently.

"CHARLES SMITH."

Now, then, we have the name of this "*friend*," who, I dare say, can rail against *slanderers* and *libellers* as loudly as any briber or public-robber in the kingdom. What right had this man to say, and to publish, the assertion, that I "was *known* to be wholly regardless of truth?" What had I done to *him*? I had not exposed *him*, at any rate. And, it is clear enough, that his publishing the words, or pretended words, of another, is just the same, in point of malignity, as making the assertion himself.

This Mr. SMITH, by his affected

manner of writing renders himself unintelligible, except as to the fact of having been the publisher; but, if he mean, in the concluding sentence, that he has *no interest* in deluding people *to carry their money to the Illinois*, I must say, that I *disbelieve him*. Men do not do dirty jobs for *nothing*. There is something of the *sly* kind in this concluding declaration. He has "no interest in the views of Mr. Birkbeck, *separate* from his best wishes for his *welfare*." This may be very *true*, and yet may be intended to convey a *falsehood*; and, I am satisfied from this jesuitical declaration (which was not called for) that he *has* an interest in the trans-atlantic speculations; and that his motive for slandering me was, to destroy the effect of those writings of mine, which had done, and were doing, injury to those speculations.

However, the mad and ruinous project will, I believe, soon receive an exposure from *other quarters*. The accounts sent home by *some of the sufferers* are

dismal and shocking. These will, I hope, be published before long; and they would have been before now, had it not been, that the *fears* of the writers prevented publication. They fear to make the truth public, till they are *out of the reach of the speculators!* This is a specimen of the *freedom* enjoyed on the WABASH! Nevertheless, out the truth will come at last; unless the *fall-fever* relieve the ambitious speculator of his discontented subjects, which it very probably may. The Illinois seems to be very much like the Lion's Den: all the foot-step marks are *inwards*. Dead men tell no tales. Let Mr. Birkbeck send us his *bill of mortality* for a year, and an account of the amount of his crops of Indian Corn and of Wheat for the *third year*, and I am satisfied that the vision will vanish. Persons, who have gone thither with from 500 to 1000 pounds are, I am well assured, *worse off in every respect, than English day-labourers*; and, with the greater

part of their money expended too! They *never can recover*. Dives is represented as being extremely anxious to get a drop of water to cool his tongue. What would either of these unfortunate persons give for a draught of *small beer*! For, they have it not, mind; and they cannot have it.

In short, the project has deluded scores to their ruin and death, and this Mr. Smith is nothing short of an *agent* in the mischievous, not to say criminal, work.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.